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MARYLAND

COLONIZATION JOURNAL.

CONDUCTED BY JAMES HALL, GENERAL AGENT OF THE MARYLAND STATE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

New Series. BALTIMORE, JULY, 1845. Vol. 3.—No. 1.

"Nothing is more clearly written in the Book of Destiny, than the Emancipation of the Blacks; and it is equally certain that the two races will never live in a state of equal freedom under the same government, so insurmountable are the barriers which nature, habit and opinion have established between them." JEFFERSON.

(From the Baltimore American.)

COLONIZATION—*Mr. Latrobe's Address.*—Our readers will peruse with interest, and we doubt not with much gratification, the sketch, in another column, of Mr. LATROBE'S address on the subject of Colonization, which was delivered at a meeting of the Methodist clergy of this city, at their request, some days ago, and written out from the notes of one of the auditory.

The account which Mr. LATROBE gives of the planting of the Maryland Colony at Cape Palmas and of its success since,—and no man is more familiar with that history than the President of the State Society, who for many years has devoted to colonization so much of his labour and solicitude,—may serve to show something of the results which Colonization has achieved for the colored people of Maryland. While Abolition has filled the country with agitation and stirred up bad feelings wherever its influence has reached—while it has wearied the public mind with its impracticable projects and accomplished nothing, the progress of Colonization, quiet and peaceful, has aimed at practical results—and its doings speak for it. It has *done* something—something that will stand; and whether its success be more or less general, whatever it does is so much of good done.

Abolition is fired with hatred against slave-holders; it cares nothing for the slave. Colonization looks to the welfare of both, and with thoughtful wisdom it provides for the future exigencies which may befal the two races. While the Abolitionist seeks to put mischievous notions into the mind of the slave and to render him discontented, the Colonizationist leaves the existing relations between servant and master as he finds them, and would show to the negroes that their best friends must be found among those who are their masters and protectors. In a word, while Abolition is a fanatical excitement, Colonization is practical benevolence.

The following is a sketch of an address delivered last week at the Preachers' meeting of the Ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Baltimore, and listened to with great attention. At the close the Rev. H. SLICER offered the subjoined resolutions, which were unamimously adopted:

First, *Resolved*, That we have heard with pleasure an Address from J. H. B. LATROBE, Esq., and that we highly approve of the plans and purposes of the Maryland Colonization Society, and that we recommend a collection to be taken up in our charges on the first Sabbath preceding or following the 4th of July.

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Second, *Resolved*, That Rev. Adam Miller, be requested to write out the Address we have just heard, and that the same be published in some of our city papers (such as will publish it) and also in the Colonization Journal.

MR. LATROBE'S ADDRESS.

In years past, said Mr. Latrobe, the collections made by the congregations of the different religious denominations of the State on the Lord's day immediately preceding or succeeding the 4th of July, had been among the most reliable sources of the State Colonization Society. These collections had, of late, almost entirely ceased, and the object of the present address, Mr. L. went on to say, was to solicit their resumption on the part of the Board of Managers of the State Society. As the subject was new, perhaps, to some of those present, a few words of explanation in regard to it, might not be amiss:

There was a good deal of error prevailing, even among those friendly to the scheme, as to the aim and immediate objects of colonization. They thought that while it was a very good means of civilizing and christianizing Africa, and putting a stop to the horrors of the slave trade, it was idle to look to it as a measure by which the free colored population of the State and the emancipated slaves could ever be removed. Such persons always asked how many emigrants had left Maryland in the ten years of the Society's existence, and when told that the whole population of the Colony did not exceed eight hundred, they relied upon that fact to shew that the scheme was utterly incompetent to the great ultimate end in view, however it might be otherwise praiseworthy as a philanthropic undertaking. But such persons, Mr. L. continued, took a narrow view of the subject. If colonization proposed by any probable means at its command, even with the most munificent assistance of Congress, State Legislatures and individuals, to remove the whole colored population of the United States to Africa, it would well deserve to be considered visionary—as idle indeed as to attempt to ladle Lake Erie dry. No means that could be obtained would be competent to this end. But the means, scant as they were, continued Mr. L., were ample to establish colonies on the Coast of Africa capable of self-support and self-government—moral and religious communities, where, wealth and station would be offered to the colored man as the incentives and rewards for labor—colonies that would be as attractive to him as America is to the European.—In 1832 the immigration to America was said to be upwards of two hundred thousand, more than double, nearly treble the annual increase of the entire colored population of the Union. These immigrants, with few exceptions, came at their own expense. In point of means they were in no way superior to the corresponding class of free colored people in the United States—they came, because America presented attractions which their home did not. It is in the power of colonization to invest Africa with the same attractions for the colored immigrant, that America presents to the white one. Where the latter has one inducement to remove the former has ten. In Europe there are few avenues to worldly honor which are closed to those, who nevertheless, leave them all behind. In America there are few, if any avenues open to those for whom colonization labors.

The object of colonization, therefore, said Mr. Latrobe, may be stated as the preparation of a home in Africa for the free colored people of the State, to which they may remove when the advantages which it offers, and above all the pressure of irresistable circumstances in this country shall excite them to emigrate—an object, which Mr. Latrobe reiterated, was perfectly within the means, humble even as these were, begged from, or given by the public for the purpose.

Mr. L. proposed to shew, briefly, what have been done by the State Society in accomplishing the end thus proposed to it. In the success which had attended their labours, he was happy to think, with sincere humility, that he recognized the acceptance of the scheme in the eyes of Him in whose hands were the destinies of all mankind. Circumstances, unnecessary to recapitulate, satisfied the Society, in 1832, that it was expedient to establish a new colony entirely independent of the old one, to be under their own exclusive control, and for the reception of Maryland Emigrants only. At this time when wholly at a loss what point on the Coast of Africa to select, a letter was received from Dr. James Hall, who had gone to Africa in the first expedition sent to the old settlement of Monrovia, stating that, having accidentally met with a speech, among those delivered some years since at the annual meeting of the American Colonization Society, describing Cape Palmas as a proper place for a Colony, he had availed himself of a voyage down the Coast to purchase rice, to make particular inquiries in regard to the Cape,—that the results fully justified all that had been said of it, and that if a Colony was to be founded, Cape Palmas was the place for it. Point was now given to the action of the State Society, and a new Colony was determined upon, but the want of a suitable person to lead the expedition was on the eve of defeating the attempt to found it.

At this time, most unexpectedly, Dr. Hall himself arrived from Africa. The appointment of Agent and Governor was given to him, and he sailed with the first expedition in the brig Ann in November, 1833. He was so ill,—a cripple too,—that he was carried on board in a pallet. But he took with him the blessing of Providence and his own stout heart. When becalmed four hundred miles distant from Monrovia, he left the brig in an open boat, so as to prepare to accompany him down the Coast a certain number of acclimated emigrants. With these and fifteen others from the United States he sailed for Cape Palmas. His instructions were not to employ rum in the purchase—for the Society had adopted the principle of temperance as a part of the fundamental law of the Colony. He was thus brought into controversy with the natives at once. Their demand was headed with 20 puncheons of rum, 200 muskets, &c. The rum he peremptorily refused. These was a stormy debate among the kings, headmen and people of the half-republican half monarchical tribes with whom he was treating,—but Dr. Hall was unyielding. He told them that hitherto the whites had, in their traffic, just made them drunk and then cheated them. He came to treat with them honestly and soberly, and that the rum was out of the question; good sense and determination prevailed,—the land was bought—the stores and thirty emigrants were landed—and when the vessel sailed, Dr. Hall and the Rev. John Hersey, the assistant agent, found themselves, with their scanty followers, in the midst of a tribe noted for its violence hitherto, and with no shelter but the rude shed they built of the plank which the vessel had left for the erection of the future government house of Maryland in Liberia.

The houses were erected, the King quarrelled and threatened, but deterred by the firmness of the agent, refrained from attacking the handful of men, whom one determined rush would have driven into the sea. New emigrants arrived. The agent returned—another was appointed—and after a brief period a colored man of character, education and abilty, was placed at the head of affairs in Africa—a colonist came back to this country to be educated as a physician,—and the colored Governor of Maryland in Liberia, J. B. Russwurm, Esq. and the colonial physician, Dr. S. F. McGill, are persons who fill their respective stations with credit and usefulness. The colony has assumed the appearance of a long established community. Law and order prevail there. The people are essentially a church-going people,

and it is believed and hoped a religious one. All fears on the score of health have been long since removed. The last expedition by the Chipola did not lose an emigrant during the acclimating fever. There were but three deaths among the old colonists in five months at the date of the last despatches by the Madonna—*but three,* in a population of between seven and eight hundred. The relations with the natives are peaceful. There has never been a war with them—on one occasion there was a difference between some of them and one of the colonists named Parker, who was afterwards killed. The colonists took up arms to avenge him; and their leader, an officer, fired without sufficient ground of suspicion upon some natives near the dead man's house. He was tried for the offence, convicted and banished the Colony. The occurrence, painful at the time, was salutary in its results. It established the supremacy of the law, and was a guarantee to the natives against oppression. On another occasion the Governor was attacked by the people of a town on the Cavally, robbed and nearly drowned. The colonists wanted to use the strong hand in righting themselves—but Gov Russwurm made treaties with all the tribes surrounding that which had offended—cut them off from all supplies, and so finally brought them to his terms, and established with them a reputation for sagacity that had the best effect.

Not only, continued Mr. L., has the Colony prospered, but it has been of essential service to the natives. Every colonist who goes to Africa may be considered a Missionary—even the worst ones. The whole scheme is essentially a Missionary enterprise. The colonists take the native children into their families—teach them to wear clothing, and take them to church. Opportunity is thus afforded for religious impressions to be made, through the agency of those even who attend divine worship without any good motive and merely because others do so. Besides this the Colony affords protection to the pious men who devote themselves especially to the spread of the gospel among the heathen.

Mr. Latrobe then referred to the differences which had at times taken place between the Societies and the Missionaries which were now happily terminated, and proceeded to detail circumstances shewing the internal economy of the Colony, trials in Court, &c. &c., which space does not permit us to follow.

It is not pretended, said Mr. L., that we have a Colony in which every man is rich, in which there are not instances of individual poverty and want. With the materials which have been employed to found Maryland in Liberia, it would be strange if it were otherwise. But, looking to the general result, there is no room for any other emotion than that of profound gratitude to Heaven for the signal favour with which the operations of the Society have been blessed.

Such then, continued Mr. L., is the Colony that has been established—and the occasion for it is far more pressing now than it was when it was commenced. To the most casual observer it must be apparent that immigration to this country, the rapid and wonderful increase of the white population, furnish day by day additional reasons to the free colored people for making inquiries in regard to the homes which it is the purpose of Colonization to prepare for them. It is believed they acknowledge this to themselves—Why otherwise the emigration to Demarara, Jamaica and Trinidad? In time Africa will doubtless come into favor. The happiness and prosperity of the Colonies there will bring this time about, and are dependent upon the friends of Colonization. The free colored man cannot shut his ears to the story of the mobs in the free States of Pennsylvania and Ohio—to the exclusion by law of colored persons from the business of draymen and

hackmen in New York and other places—to the substitution of white for colored labour on Fell's Point in the Coal yards and elsewhere in Baltimore. These things must, in the end, produce their natural effects, and then will the Colonizationists be considered, as in truth they are, the real and untiring friends of the colored man, who suspected and abused, have still, year after year, gone on to labour in his behalf.

To bring all this about, Mr. Latrobe again said, the resources of the Society were sufficient if they could be made available, and hence the present application. The Society were out of debt. The means now solicited would be applicable, therefore, to present use in the Colony—especially in the matter of education. The donation of $10,000, annually, from the State, by the most economical management, had sufficed, thus far, with a small amount of voluntary contributions, to establish and maintain the Colony. But it was far from sufficient for the purposes of the society. Although the office expenses in America, exclusive of the collection of emigrants, were less than $1,600, and those in Africa, Governor and all, did not exceed $3,500, a part of which was contributed by the Colonists, yet when an expedition was despatched the Society found itself at the end of its means, and utterly unable to do many things most important to the advancement of the Colony. All this, it was hoped, would be now considered, and the practice of "the 4th July collections" be again resumed. If colonization deserved them when they were commenced, they were now far more necessary, and the ground for claiming them was far stronger than ever.

EXTRACTS FROM LATE LIBERIA PAPERS.

(Continued from our last.)

OUR AFFAIRS.

(From the Liberia Herald.)

Our last letters from America present us with encouraging prospect in regard to African Colonization. Colonization appears to be attracting somewhat more of attention than was given to it the three or four years last past; and the attention now paid to it is of a more favourable character. Connected with this, however, is a fact of which the people of these colonies should never lose sight: and that fact is, that cautiousness should ever be observed in placing reliance upon a cause which depends for its onward movement upon a foreign popular favour. Such are the fickleness and versatility of the multitude,—such their anxiety and burning for something new and striking, that many regard them unworthy and unsafe arbiters of even their own destinies. The object of ardent pursuit to-day will likely be among the forgotten of the morrow. Colonization should not take these irregular and spasmodic impulses as the prelusive movements of a regular and abiding force, but should regard them as indicating for the time the direction of the public mind, whose most striking characteristic is ceaseless change. Whilst we should ever close our minds against the entrance of the conceit which would affect to disdain the sympathy and aid of others, let us remember that to expect to be made "a people" solely by the efforts of others, or even to desire it would prove *de facto* that we are unworthy of the boon we desire. A *name* and a *place* are among heaven's brightest gifts, and heaven rarely bestows its benisons upon the enervate and irresolute. While, therefore, we should never be insensible to the efforts of our friends abroad, nor to any indication of a favourable public regard of our cause and condition, but receive with grateful hearts every emotion of sympathy, let us yet recollect the heat and burden of the day are to be borne by us.

The lesson fraught with the greatest blessings to us we have yet to learn,

The bone and sinew are ours—others can only advise the direction of their movement. The eager anxiety, and the numerous inquiries on the arrival of letters from America, to know what the Society is doing, indicates too truly, we fear, an unworthy and unmanning reliance on the efforts of others; while the great objects to which our friends abroad direct our attention as the certain highway to independence, because they involve in their accomplishment difficulty and labour, are too systematically neglected.

That we have recently made some improvements, and that there have been some development of capacity among us there can be no doubt; but these have not been commensurate with our opportunities. The present position of the colony is one exceedingly perplexing and anomalous; and as if past annoyances to which the coloured man has been every where subjected are not sufficient, foreigners are now wielding this anomaly greatly to our disadvantage. We have long seen the probability of this difficulty, but would not allow ourselves to believe we should be soon plunged into it. Professing, as the English do, so much philanthropy and so extended and high-toned benevolence, we hoped every thing from them: but Commodore Jones' last letter to the Governor has dispelled the illusion, and warns us that we have most to fear where once we had indulged the most pleasing expectations. His diplomatic communication contains one sentence which we presume would find a place in a correspondence with no people on earth except Liberians. It is a kind of genteel braggardism—of diplomatic gasconade over a prostrate victim from whom nothing is to be apprehended. We have compared the style and spirit of this communication with the commodore's correspondence with American commanders on this station, and we can find no escape from the conviction, that when penning this letter he kept distinctly before his eye the resources of the people he was addressing.

It is clear we cannot exist if the British maintain the position assumed by the commodore, as we shall be exposed to incursion by every British trader that comes to the coast—to which, if we dare oppose resistance, we shall feel the full vengeance of all powerful England.

But until it be denied that we are men, it will not be denied that we have certain rights—among these the right to breathe God's free air—to purchase land from its rightful owners, to dig that land and eat its fruits—to govern ourselves on that land, and to adjust the conditions on which others shall come among us. These are altogether distinct, in our opinion at least, from international rights. The former are founded on the unavoidable wants of our common nature—that is, they are the gift of God, and therefore cannot be conferred by any people on another; the latter is founded on conventional agreement—the former is necessary to our existence, the latter not.

It behooves us, therefore, to prove ourselves worthy of these rights, by our industry, perseverance, good order and virtue. By clearing away these primitive forests and developing the rich resources of the unreclaimed country—by recovering these semi-savage tribes around us from their barbarism, and tutoring them in the arts and manners of civilized and christian life, we will exhibit a claim to be let alone which no people who have any respect for justice will dare to disregard.

We are aware that we are exposing ourself by attempting to awaken the people to a perception of their condition, and by calling on them to prepare against a premature end. Our well meant endeavors in this as in other things, have been traduced, and our sincerest motives impugned. We heed it not. We feel strong in the rectitude of purpose. Already we are stigmatized in America as having attempted a revolution in the colony, and to get a recognition of the independence of the colony by England without

consulting the Society. The charge is too ridiculous for vindication—but if it needs any, we leave it to be made by the people of Liberia. When the proper time arrives to speak out, we trust we shall not be wanting in courage to do so.

(For the Liberia Herald.)

The Liberian colonies occupy at this moment a position at once very interesting and very critical. The great experiment which it was the object of the Colonization Society to make, has been made and has proved successful. Against all the obstacles presented by the want of ample means, the mismanagement of agents, the unhealthiness of the African climate, the previous character of those who have emigrated, and the prejudices and passions of Americans at home, it has successfully contended; and it may be considered as settled, that people of colour from the United States may be brought to the coast and settled at an expense of time, money, life, and labour, not much greater than would attend their emigration from New England to the more distant Western States. We have called this a *great* experiment: the term is well applied: it is *great* in every point of view: great as to the emigrants: for it has raised them from a degraded and servile position to the elevation and dignity of freemen, with the means of indefinite improvement in intellect, morals and religion: great as to the *race:* for it points out to them a sure asylum from the indignities and evils which fall so heavily upon them in America: great as to the *continent:* a little one may become a strong nation: colonies are the roots from which nations and kindreds and people and tongues have sprung and must spring. Who can tell how near the time may be when nations may find it *expedient at least*, to send back to their ancestral land those who were taken from it by their father's hand: the question as to what must be done with the descendants of Africa in the lands of the whites presses closer and closer every day and every hour; it must be both met and answered, and it *may* be so answered, as that emigrants shall flock to these shores like as doves to their windows. He shows little thought and wisdom, then, who turns with disdain from the consideration of these Liberian colonies.

The Society has done all that can reasonably be expected of it: it has planted the colonies, and continues yearly to add to their inhabitants; but the prosperity of these settlements must be dependent mainly on the character and conduct of the colonists themselves: a truth which cannot be too frequently repeated. Every thing depends on the industry, intelligence and moral character of the Liberians themselves. Circumstances render it quite probable that it may soon be necessary for these colonies to assume another character: as they increase in population and importance, it will become more and more requisite that they should assume some definite *political position.* Either as recognized colonies of the United States of America, or as an independent state. They cannot long continue as mere settlements under the protection of the Colonization Society: that society having of itself no independent political rights, can confer none upon these colonies: and these colonies cannot long expect to find their laws respected by men of other nations: because their political character is not one recognized by the laws of nations. As colonies of the United States their position would be *definite*, and their laws respected and obeyed; but there is hardly the remotest probability that that government will ever recognize them as such: it is contrary to the policy of that nation. It remains, therefore, as the only alternative, that at some no distant period *these colonies must govern themselves;* whether this event is desired by the colonists or not, whether it is upon the whole desirable or not is of no consequence: the event itself may be looked upon as certain. How vastly important is it

then that every man in this colony should remember continually that the prosperity of his country depends to a certain extent upon *his* own intelligence, industry and good conduct; that if this colony is to be prosperous and happy, it must be because *you*, my friend, and your children deserve to be so; and that on the contrary, if it is to be a feeble, failing, wretched settlement, it must be simply because you and those around are lazy and worthless. Think of this, act as though it was in your mind always, and these colonies will yet grow up and prosper to be a blessing to mankind.

(From Africa's Luminary.)

Becco, February 26th, 1845.

Dear Brother,—I got here on the 25th—the people ran to me with open arms. The old men and women ran and fell on me: the king and his head-women, the head-men and little children, girls and boys. O! it was a solemn time, it was a time of weeping. Many of the members of the church had gone away, but they have heard that I have come to Becco, and they are coming back again. The *country-devil* and *gree-gree-men* have been at work, and caused the people of God to weep; but glory be to God, they seem again to receive victory on the Lord's side. O! ye preachers of Liberia, if God has called you to his work, go forth and do it. Remember the unjust steward. You are called as watchmen, then warn the people. As shepherds, let us feed the flock of Christ. Let us inquire for the good way, and walk therein. We shall find rest to our souls. ELIJAH JOHNSON.

Garrettson Station.

Dear and Rev. Brother,—Sometime ago, I was called on by one of the kings, about half a day's walk from here, and just before I got to his town, I stopped at a half town, where set an old woman, whom I should judge to be about a hundred years old. She asked me to give her something; to give her some tobacco and pipes. She had a large ulcer on one of her feet, so that she could not walk. A man had died in the town, and they had made a palaver on this poor old woman, and said that she had made witch for the dead man, and killed him. So the day after I came home, they took the old woman, got what they call *sassay-wood*, pounded it, and put about three or four quarts of water to it, and then made the old woman hold her mouth open, and poured it down her. If it had been water only, it was enough to kill her. They then put a rope about her neck, dragged her out of the town, made a fire on her, and burnt her up. ELIJAH JOHNSON.

We copy the following able article from Africa's Luminary of April 9th, and earnestly commend it to the attention of our readers. It clearly evinces, that there are men of *mind* in that colony; men who at least speculate upon taking care of themselves. We think the Luminary has lost nothing by the appointment of a coloured Editor.

WHAT OUGHT WE TO DO?

The crisis—Colonization and its effects—Superiority of our condition in Liberia—Our preferences—Threatening aspects—English traders—Action of the British Government—Objects—Our admonition from the condition of English subjects—British Christians and British Government distinguished—Conclusion.

To us as citizens of this Commonwealth, at this particular juncture, this is a thrilling question. No one, who properly estimates both our weaknesses and our enemies, but what will deeply sigh again and again, as he casts

about in his mind for an answer to it. Nevertheless, it is to be answered; inquirers will be satisfied so far as *reply* is concerned, and that before long too; whether *we* are willing or able in theory to make the true reply now or not. *Events* grave in their character, and extended and durable in their influence upon us, will fully satisfy every inquiry. A practicable demonstration will be had; so luminous in its conclusions, as to preclude all further anxiety on the subject. Are we asked, What will the conclusion be? We answer, and our heart thrills with concern as we write it, We do not know.

Since before the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, the question of *slavery* and its concomitant evils, both to the suffering race submitting to them, and the whites themselves: has been a subject upon which American feelings have been extremely sensitive. Experience of this was had in the adoption of that Constitution. Not only has slavery been universally admitted to be an evil, and a great evil too; but the *coloured race*, in their existence, intercourse, intermixture with the white citizens, and in their privations in America, is, and has been regarded for years as a calamity very difficult of being remedied. The *free* people of colour particularly have been felt to be an incumbrance. While Benevolence and Humanity, have been constrained to admit and lament the fact; while they have known that the unfortunate race were in these circumstances only by the agency of the whites and not by their own; the state Legislatures in their various policies and legislation, have endeavoured to remove or at least to mitigate the evil. But perplexities have met them at every step. To distribute equally to all that justice, which each, without the intervention of some personal forfeiture, had a right to claim, and at the same time, to give general satisfaction to the citizens of the different states respectively, is a degree of ability in political measures and civil legislation to which no state in the Union has hitherto attained.

Benevolent men long ago saw these difficulties as clearly as they see them now: and commenced a system of measures, remedial in character, by which the difficulties that such a state of society would inevitably lead to, might be prevented. On this subject, as upon all other subjects, over which uncertainty hangs, and in reference to which experiments are to be made, good men differed in their opinions. As there were spacious and inviting fields on both sides of this vital question, promising rich rewards both in this world and the next, to the most successful occupant, as the reliever of his country's embarrassment—and as the occupancy of either by the party so doing, seemed *just* to all implicated in the final issue: good men took opposite directions. There objects however were undoubtedly identical—the relief of their country, and the benefits of the coloured race. Hence Colonization and Abolitionism. Colonization adopted the plan of purchasing on the Western Coast of Africa, of the original and legitimate owners, a territoty, to which to transport all such free people of colour as gave their consent to come and inhabit it: with the explicit and Constitutional understanding, that the purchased territory, designed to be the free and happy home of those immigrating to it, was to be held in trust by the purchasing party, as their *foster parent*, and ultimately, when they were prepared for it—when they wished it—to be surrendered into their hands in *fee-simple*, to be its sole and exclusive owners, and to conduct its government—without dependence upon, or responsibility to, any other governor or lord, than the God of the Universe.

Without any particular advocacy of either the system or measures which the American Colonization Society has approved of, we assert in the face of its friends and foes, that it has solved some important problems: the truth of which, but for this effort for our good, must have remained doubtful for centuries to come.

In the *first* place it has demonstrated, that the people of colour immigrating to the American Colony of Liberia, with the usual successes attendant upon industry, can be, not only *free*, in all the meaning which that significant word embraces, but *happy* to the same extent of meaning. It has demonstrated, that we only require pecuniary power to place our various interests upon the footing of which they are obviously capable, and we need envy no man, or nation of men on earth. We do not envy them now.

In the *second* place, it has demonstrated, we think with sufficient conclusiveness, that the coloured race in common, with other races of the same Creator's forming hand; posseses the faculty of *Self Government*. Theory and speculation have contested this point with great diversity of object in view, and with various degrees of successful argumentation; but it has remained for the American Colonization Society, in the nineteenth century, to give to the nations of the Earth a practical demonstration.

Third. It has demonstrated, in the great mortality of the whites, their admissions on this subject, and the success with which the labours of coloured men have been attended—moral and intellectual qualifications being supposed—that the coloured race is the proper medium through which to convert the swarming posterity of their ancestors.

Fourth. It has demonstrated with the clearness of a sun-beam, that an American Colony, is a most effectual antidote against either domestic or foreign slavery, and all their accomplices within its jurisdiction. It crushes that brat of the pit—the traffic in human flesh and blood—under its triumphant feet.

This being so, what more natural than that we as a people should respect an institution, which has been instrumental in developing to the view of mankind, so many things highly creditable to our race, and in procuring for us here, a home, and a *happy* home too, and the enjoyment of all the rights and privileges belonging to men. What more to be expected as a matter of *course*, than that we should *love* that home—not so much perhaps on account of anything so very peculiar in itself, so far as the place is concerned; but it is a refuge from the most cowing distinctions—distinctions that must discourage the efforts, dwarf the intellect, and bleed the heart of every thoughtful man of colour. They sit upon the most persevering, aspiring mind like an incubus, till overcome by their overpowering weight, it gains a level but little in advance of former generations: and servilely submits to be oppressed. Besides, here is something in the circumstances affecting us here–our liberty; our political equalities; our social rights and privileges, every man being a man among his fellows; and above all, our expectation at some future day, of being a people not by revulsion or revolution, but by *natural growth*, a nation among other nations: there is something in all this that gives a *peculiar character* to our *Hope* as coloured men. But more than this. The human mind is confessedly a unit: but still divisible in mental analysis, and for philosophical purposes among other divisions, into *classes of feelings*, for the full development of which, it is said, they must be so situated to outward circumstances, as to receive from them the requisite promptings to effort. Hence the white citizen of America for example, pursues his upward career in the road to political or civil distinction, or to any other eminence for which tact, and literary qualifications are required, with *avidity*, and the speed of a locomotive. Why? Because the road is *open* to him: and because it *is* open, honour and eminence being attainable by *him;* he, "seeing them afar off," it may be; "being persuaded of them, and embracing them;" they are to all intents and purposes the proper *excitants;* and they give exercise to feelings in his mind, to which others, before whom the road to eminence is not so clearly opened or not opened at all, are entire *strangers*.

They never had, and they never will have some of the feelings that inspire his bosom, and prompt to a higher degree of intellectual improvement.

We make these remarks for the purpose of showing, that, whatever else we might have possessed in the land that gave many of us birth, the way to many species of virtuous distinction, not being open to us, we consequently did not have, and could have the delighting and improving promptings of many feelings, which here we experience in common with the most free and happy of any nation. Not only then is our *hope* peculiar in its character, but we have *incitements*, to at least mental and political activity, which we never could have experienced, to the same degree any where but in Liberia. Every thing considered, will any one *blame* us if we love our home? Will they ridicule that affection as either unnatural or inconsistent? While we say to all without the least feeling of animosity. "Enjoy your own opinion," have we not a right to the same indulgence from those who think proper to differ from us? We think we have. Well then, as nothing is more commonly to be met with, than men and associations of men, having their preferences, it will not, we presume, be deemed inconsistent with such common occurrences if we have ours. We say then, we prefer everything taken into consideration, to continue our connection with the American Colonization Society, at least for the present; we entertain no wish to loose Liberia from her moorings as thus connected—to start a *pin*, or break a *link* leading thereto—unless it should be thought by those whose advice ought to be taken, and in whose integrity and opinions we have reason to repose confidence, that such severance of the connection between us and them, is immediately and absolutely called for.

Before any steps are taken leading to disconnection, we shall calculate well the course she is going to steer, and into whose hands she is going to drift.

But there are evils that threaten us now, which considering either the source from whence they arise, the spirit with which they are prosecuted, or the objects to which they took, ought, and no doubt will, make the heart of every lover of his liberties and home, feel most poignantly. Strange to say, these threatening calamities do not spring out of any want of suitableness or efficiency in Colonization as a remedial system for the sufferings of the coloured race, or out of any demonstrable misdemeanors of the Colonists to any man or body of men, but out of the assumptions of British traders on the Coast, and the action of the British Government had upon their statements.

From the early settlement of these Colonies, they have served the purpose, as it is easy to prove to all, in their factories within their territory, or elsewhere by the permission of native chiefs, of *collectors* of the native produce, to their settlements. This has been done without interference with the rights of any man, whose purchase and exportation of these collections, the vessels of the different nations trading on this coast, have shared indiscriminately and without distinction, upon the same fair and equitable terms. That this trade with the colonists has been a source of advantage to the traders, the great increase in their number abundantly proves: or if it had *not* this is not material to the argument. English vessels have had their share, and in some instances they have seemed to have the preference. While our intercourse with the vessels of other nations, has been conducted with the most harmonious feelings, English traders, in a number of cases, have not scrupled upon the most trivial incident, to occasion misunderstanding, and then point to their ships of war as a source of retribution. If their seamen have been necessitous, or their vessels wrecked, as has been the case time and again, they have received from the Colonists and the Colonial

authorities, the most prompt attention and the most courteous assistance within their power. Notwithstanding this, there has been manifested every now and then, a disposition to infringe, to oppress and to tantalize.

In 1841, in the town of Edina, out of hearing of Governor Buchanan, because he could not be suffered to do as he pleased, one asserted that "The *English* flag would be flying over the Colonies before long." Our Tariff Regulations, the authority for creating which has not been questioned by other nations, has been to them a source of constant anxiety and vexation. Our "territorial limits were more extensive than we could defend, therefore the attempt to prohibit the vessels of other nations from carrying from them, what in our Colonial trade with the natives would be of great servics to *us*, was an assumption!" One has disputed about a few rods of land at Bassa Cove; another offers Cape Mount for sale. Thus things have gone on with increasing irritation on the part of the English, until recently in a document from Commodore Jones, the new and startling discovery is announced that the Colonization Society being but a company of American citizens, and as such, possessing no political rights, could confer none upon us: and that consequently, we possessing neither political existence nor rights received from them, have no right to make port regulations to which the vessels of other nations trading with us are under obligation to conform. Within the two weeks last past, an English Captain informed our Collector of Customs that "Lord Aberdeen had said, that their vessels must not pay duties within the Colonies." This is a blow at the root. But what does this action of the English Government mean? What does it contemplate as ulterior objects of accomplishment?—our *ruin*, evidently to us, the crocodile tears of sympathy in the English nation in the oppressions of the coloured race in America and elsewhere, notwithstanding. Well, as a helpless people, without any nation to interpose its power and save us from engulphment in the capacious maw of the British Lion, its object may be very easily, and very soon, compassed. But we submit it to the world whether it will be an evidence of either its *magnanimity, philanthropy* or *benevolence.*

As to our condition being bettered by becoming subjects of Great Britain, we consider it idle to reason; we have no confidence in the truth of statements that assert it. The political and moral condition of her free coloured population in the West Indies—the measures so justly suspected of enslaving intentions, by which she proposes to supply her foreign colonies with labourers—her thousands of Irish subjects writhing and maddening under her oppressions—the drudging, starved and meagred, hundreds of thousands in the very seat of English philanthropy and benevolence, in her commercial, mining, manufacturing, and agricutural districts—her dogmatical, domineering spirit, especially in her colonies under her lieutenants—all—all assure us, that any other impossibility is as reasonably to be expected, as a bettering of our condition under her government. She may succeed in the destruction of these colonies, monopolizing to herself their entire trade—obliterate on *this* coast the last trace and hope of a Republican government—which no doubt is her praiseworthy object, and which she regards as Satan regards holiness, with hatred and fear—she may blast the hope of benevolent American citizens, and effect a transfer of our American Missions in and about the colonies, into the hands of her own subjects: but let her remember a retribution awaits her. She is not, and never will be the arbiter of nations. Her recompense by a just God, will be given to her, whether we have friends, or no friends, through some divinely ordained instrumentality.

For British Christians no one excels us in the profoundest respect. Among her saintly living and dead, are names, which will be recorded in letters of

light, not only on the heart of the ignorant, the friendless and the poor; but in a golden niche in the registry of glorified humanity, when time is no more. Many of her Institutions too, have wrought wonderfully in the rescue of myriads of our fallen race, back to more than paradisean happiness, and perfection. They have accomplished mighty deeds, and wreathed themselves with immortal honours of which angels might be envious. We admire, we love, we "earnestly covet" their spirit: it is an "excellant gift." O may their mantle fall on us.

In both her Christians and their institutions we have confidence—a *fellowship*. We bid them God's speed. But these institutions are not the British Government: their spirit is not her grasping, overreaching policy. We know the distinction, and we intend to make it. In the one we sympathize, approach to, and emulate: the other, we fear, recede from, and detest. The restless ambition of the one to subjugate the world to itself, and the burning zeal of the other for its salvation, are as wide of each other as the antipodes of the earth.

In view of all, we should say to England, as long as we have power to say, Depart from us; and let us alone. We have heard from credible authorities of thy tender mercies. They are cruel. You imported our fathers to the American Colonies. You burdened those Colonies with difficulties in their struggles with which, you now curse them. You are not too good to burden us also.

Why should we expect to meet with more gracious treatment than the hard-labouring operatives of your own Island? With what show of wisdom should we, mostly dissenters, and in the eye of your national Establishment, *scismatics*, with our attention fixed upon recent High Church movements in Great Britain, consent to become a member of a state, whose most Gracious Sovereign is clearly committed to such an Establishment, and sympathizes in all its measures? Your Monarchy no more than your Hierarchy is offensive to us. But by becoming your subjects, in such a system of far-reaching political and ecclesiastical management, small as we are, we should be in danger, and most oppressively too, of feeling the power of both. No, England, we dare not, cannot trust you.

ANOTHER PEEP into the Great Abolition Meeting, in the Marlboro' Chapel, Boston, from a correspondent of the N. Y. Observer.

Primus inter pares is Garrison; a fallen spirit, once a man of power, of poetry, of humanity; the same sin that damned an army of angels has been his ruin. He moves now among his confederates powerless even for evil, chafing under the mortification of blighted hopes, and evidently despairing of gaining his lost throne. Five years ago he seemed to have all the elements of a great leader in a good cause. I saw him in New York at the great meeting where the American Anti-Slavery Society was rent in twain by the measures which *he* drove on. The main question was the *rights of women*. Garrison would have the women to speak in meeting; Leavitt and Tappan were opposed. The annual meeting was to be in New York, were Garrison's friends were few and his enemies swarmed: but there were steamboats and stages, and New England had hundreds whom Garrison rallied to the city for the great battle. The day arrived. The church was crowded before the hour, and when Abby Kelly was nominated as an officer of the meeting the storm began. Hundreds of voices mingled confusedly, some hissing, some applauding, and some vainly striving to be heard. Garrison rose on one of the seats in front of the pulpit, stretched out his hands,

and the waves were stilled. He told them that the hour had come to test the great question which had divided the society, and as it was vital with them he exhorted his friends to stand firm. He then poured out a stream of burning invective against those who had opposed him, till Tappan, who was standing near me, turned all colors but red, (he never blushes,) and trembled as an aspen. Leavitt, cool and sharp as vinegar, kept on writing as though he had lost his hearing. Tappan and Dennison and Leavitt replied to Garrison, but the edict of the dictator had gone forth, and resistance was vain. The Garrison party triumphed, and the Leavitt faction withdrew. Since that the two parties have fought each other from separate camps. The old Society has made open war upon the church of Christ; the new Society has done more mischief in the church by its secret machinery than the old by its open war. Then the staff of accomplishment passed out of the hands of Garrison; he has since been at the head of a little clique, but has lost all power except the indomitable will. The Convention which I have just attended at Boston was got up under his auspices, and the platform declared to be free to all. It was occupied by any body and every body who chose to give the hearers the wisdom that was in him.

Wendell Philips was one of the chief speakers. He is a gentleman in address and education, a speckled bird in the party to which he belongs, and the only man for whom you feel any sympathy as you look on the meeting. He has fine talents, is a good speaker, and in extemporaneous harangue, is as polished and powerful as almost any man whom I have heard.

Clapp was another Mercury. He has a sad, hang-dog look about him; but nature may have belied him, and in spite of his long beard, sunken eyes and malignant face, he may be a decent man. But the speeches I heard from him only made me more apprehensive that he carries his heart in his face.

Foster was often up. He has won a wide notoriety for going into churches to make speeches during divine service, and has been thrust into jail for such displays of his eloquence. This is his capital. He is a cadaverous-looking, tall, thin man, nervous, irritable, and impatient of restraint. Such a man gives spice to a meeting.

Rogers, of New Hampshire, has more genius than any two of them. He was once a lawyer in lucrative business, but has abandoned his profession and turned reformer. An ally of Garrison he was at the outset of his career, and burnt incense to him, but feeling his own power he could not brook the insolence of the dictator, and so threw him off. The two men are now abusing one another, to the amazement of their followers and the amusement of their enemies. Rogers has a large grey head, with a strongly marked visage, indicating strength of purpose and passion, but a smile of good nature often lights up his features, as if he were not quite as unamiable a man as first appearances would intimate. He is a thorough Non-Resistant, and so consistent that he has abolished *family* government, leaving human nature to work out its own results without any help from him.

I have mentioned a few, and but a few, of the prominent members of the convention. There were many others whom I did not know, and hope I never shall, men, whom I should be loth to meet alone in the dark, if their looks are not the worst of them. Now I am very willing to admit that it is no objection to a set of men that they are not well-favored, but I think no observing man could enter Marlboro' chapel while this meeting was under way, without being *struck* with the curious configurations before him. I have no faith in phrenology, but physiognomy is quite another affair.

The first day of the convention, and part of the next, was spent in denunciations of the church and the ministers of the gospel. If I should, in

speaking of these speakers, call them liars and hypocrites and villains, I should use terms quite as refined and appropriate as those which they applied indiscriminately to the clergy of New England. Appropriate! Why, if it be appropriate to call a man a liar who stands up publicly and utters what he knows to be untrue, and glories in his avowals, who retails slanders oftimes refuted, and which may be disproved at any time, then it would be appropriate to call this convention a "Society of Liars and Slanderers." But that would be degrading one's self to their low level, and I shall not be an imitator of their bad example.

Rev. Dr. Osgood, of Springfield, an excellent man, President of the Massachusetts Abolition Society, stood up and repelled the slanders which these men were heaping on the heads of the clergy, and you may be sure the words of truth and soberness sounded strangely in such a place. But his words were in plain defiance of that command of the Saviour, "Cast not your pearls before swine," and he found it so, for they trampled them under their feet, and turned again to rend him. At another time, Gov. Pinney, formerly of Liberia, attempted to pour a little truth into the ocean of falsehood whose waves were dashing around him, and he was flatly told that "he was a genuine devil, and his scheme the very spawn of hell." Such are the arguments by which these reformers expect to convince the people of the Southern States of their duty to abolish slavery!

On the second day of the session, N. P. Rogers introduced a series of resolutions that raised an unexpected breeze. One of them was in these words:

Resolved, That all speech should be free and unrestrained; that meetings should be free and unregulated by officers or majorities; and that the press should be uncontrolled of all censorship, whether by 'Boards' or corporate majorities; and that any measures to regulate speech or the press, grounded on the opinion that individual freedom cannot 'safely be tolerated,' are tyrannous in their nature, and subversive of the anti-slavery movement.

This struck at all organization and association and was a virtual dissolution of the convention itself. Phillips moved the reference of the resolutions to the business committee. This was stoutly opposed. Clapp took the floor and spoke against the tyranny of majorities; he was not speaking there because the majority wanted to hear him, but because he was a man, and had the rights of a man; and if a man had any thing to say he had a right to say it, and that was what is meant by a *free* platform. He did'nt want to be hampered with business committees and all this machinery, but if a man had any business to propose, any resolutions to offer or anything of that sort, let him stand up and propose it, and let the convention act upon it if they please or let it alone.

Wendell Phillips replied and denounced Clapp's doctrine in good set terms; it was the most detestable despotism ever attempted; according to that doctrine when we have hired a place of meeting to discuss slavery, any man may come in here and offer resolutions and make speeches on temperance, non-resistance or any thing else he likes, and we must sit still and hear him because he is a man, and has the rights of a man.

Clapp replied and said he did not mean to say that a man had a right to take up the time of the meeting without being appointed for that purpose, but that if any man came into that house and had a *self-appointment to speak*, it was his right to be heard! And this luminous nonsense was uttered with as much gravity as if the man did not know what a fool he was making of himself. Foster opposed the reference of the resolutions and Remond, a colored man, supported it, and finally a vote was taken and the resolutions were committed. This was the end of them so far as I heard, and as appears in the official report of the convention.

Afterwards other resolutions were proposed by the business committee for adoption, or to serve for texts to speakers who pursued the great object of the Convention, which was to blaspheme the religion of Christ, to eulogize Mahometanism and infidelity or any other *ism* but that which has the gospel for its source.

It is curious to see how some men squirm under the charge of *Infidelity*. They have no objection to calling themselves *infidels*, and denouncing the christianity of the times as worse than infidelity. But when others call them by the right name, they fly into a dreadful passion as if they were persecuted and slandered. So with their abuse of truth. They are fond of denouncing other men as regardless of truth, but hold the mirror up to their own faces, and they are as indignant as a harlot whose virtue is called in question. They have *one truth* with which they started, viz: Slavery is an evil and ought to be abolished. When I heard them speaking at the Convention, Pope's lines seemed to hit them exactly :

> There at one passage, oft you might survey
> A lie and truth contending for the way,
> And long 'twas doubtful, both so closely pent,
> Which first should issue through the narrow vent,
> At last agreed, together out they fly,
> Inseparable now, the truth and lie.

But the Marlboro' meeting went on for three days and three nights. It was in some respects the great attraction of the city. No wonder they have no theatres in Boston if such a farce as this is offered often for the entertainment of the public. Strangers kept dropping in and out attracted by the novelty of men and women, black and white, in one medley of debate, and as the door of discussion was open to all, the listeners began to be speakers, and not content with stamping and hissing to express their opinions, they would after the pattern of British audiences, utter their views in such laconic phrases as "Go it Jerry," "Hit 'em hard," "down with the clergy," &c., till on the evening that was to be the last, these expressions became so general and simultaneous that it was very much after the manner of a mob, who all wish to be heard at the same time. At length some abominable fellow, having a disposition to introduce a little singing in the midst of so much speaking, struck up a song which I am told was common during the last election, and the multitude catching the spirit of the thing burst into full chorus in the words "Heigh Oh Boatman .row;" and the singing and laughing were so prodigious that none of the many orators, though struggling with the load of undelivered speeches, were able to get a hearing for a moment. The long arm of Garrison was stretched in vain. The oily Phillips strove to sooth the waves and for a moment seemed to succeed; but again the audience disgraced themselves by abusing the liberty of speech which was never intended to allow them all to speak at once. Clapp's doctrine of self-appointment was unanimously adopted, and every body seemed to have received a special commission to show his power of lungs ; and the fit seizing so many at the same time the confusion was confounded, till Babel was plain English to it. I was not in at this scene, but I understand that the disturbance was continued till all remonstrances and entreaties proved unavailing, and the gas lights were suddenly extinguished, making all of a color instantly, and reminding the people as they groped their way out that if they would find light they must seek it elsewhere than in that abode of darkness.

Printed by John D. Toy, corner of St. Paul and Market streets, Baltimore.